1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Of the three domesticated animals of the Polynesians, only fowls were brought to Easter Island or else they alone survived to the time of European discovery. In 1722, there were neither pigs nor dogs, though Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 131) tells us that the natives who boarded Roggeveen's ship "seemed to be acquainted with pigs." His statement may be inaccurate, but it is not unlikely that the natives did remember pigs. Pigs are mentioned in Mangarevan traditions and, according to history, the last sow was killed and eaten there in the seventeenth century. When pigs were reintroduced to Easter Island, they were called *oru*, probably an onomatopoeic name. Dogs are termed *paiheuga*, and the usual Polynesian name for dog (*kuri*) applies to cats.

The small, long-legged, indigenous fowls seem to have been less numerous before European contact than afterwards. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) and La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) stress their scarcity. The great value given to this bird in the social and economic life of the islanders upholds this impression in spite of G. Forster's statement (83, p. 157) to the contrary. Fowls must have multiplied in the second half of the last century for in 1882 they are said to have been extremely numerous over the entire island in a wild or semi-wild state. Geiseler (87, p. 37) estimates that there were 10,000 chickens at the time of his visit.

Today there are no wild fowls, but chickens are abundant in Hanga-roa and the natives are prodigal of eggs. When the ancient culture was functioning, chickens were the usual gifts to people who must be honored; they were raised for feasts and appear as a favorite motif in art. The feathers were used in making circlets, eyeshades, and hats. The economic value that chickens once had for the natives is manifest in the care they took of them. Near the sites of most ancient villages or settlements, hen houses are found. Often they are the only testimony of the former existence of a village. One officer under Gonzalez says that "the islanders breed fowls in little ruins scraped out in the ground and thatched over" (90, p. 122).

The only indigenous mammal was the Polynesian rat which has since been exterminated by rats from the ships. In former days the natives ate rats; Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) guesses that they did, and his supposition is borne out by references to the practice in legends. Present natives remember seeing old men eat rats. However, the following tale shows that certain persons were prejudiced against rats and did not consider them a delicacy:

> The girl Kava-komari was brought up and grew. She lived in seclusion in her house, where she daily painted her face red and annointed herself with sugar-cane juice. One year she went to a *koro* (feast). All the men admired her. She lived in the *koro* house. Her father took her a bundle of rats and sweet potatoes to accompany the rats (*inaki*). She opened the bundle and saw the rats. The other girls laughed at her. She asked, "Why do you laugh about the rats?" The other girls answered, "We laugh because you are about to eat the rats." The girl said, "Rats are not bad food. Rats are good. We are like calabashes with the mouth below. There below is something ugly with us. Rats are clean. When you defecate it always falls down."

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JOINT PROPERTY

592 Roussel (190, p. 428) says that the fields were planted and the crops
423 harvested in common by the members of a household or by the people living
241 at the same place [lineage]. The workers were rewarded with a feast (*hatu*), the size of which depended upon the extent of the land and the importance of the owner. The dimensions given by early voyagers for the dwelling houses suggest that several biological families, probably closely related, lived together.

235 Near the foundations of ancient houses are generally found chicken houses
422 of stone in which the fowls were kept during the night. It is impossible to
436 determine now what system of property was applied as regards poultry. Hens undoubtedly had a great value and were used for exchange. Today fowls are personal property and every man identifies his hens by an ownership mark cut on the legs. I was unable to discover whether ownership marks were used in ancient times or adopted under Chilian influence.

431 Today everyone gives freely of his clothes and of cooking and tilling
476 implements. Between relatives there is a constant exchange of gifts con-
602 forming to patterns of reciprocity. Children are permitted to use anything they need from the houses of either their paternal or maternal relatives. During his first stay on the island, Eyraud was obliged by the natives to build a boat. They gathered wood from all over the island and everyone participated in the construction of the truly "national boat."

226 The few boats on Easter Island are joint property of all those who have
422 contributed to their building, either in work or in furnishing wood. One such
501 boat belongs to seven men, and each must give his permission before the boat can be used. The joint owners of a boat fish together and divide their catch among their own families. If the canoe belongs to a single person, those who help him fish receive the least desirable fish, and the owner keeps the tuna fish.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

THIEVERY

674 The thievery of Easter Islanders has been stressed by all visitors and
577 their dishonesty has become as famous as their statues. Even when the Europeans avenged the small thefts by slaughtering the unarmed natives, the islanders continued to steal. They used the charms of their women to distract the seamen while they robbed them of their hats or handkerchiefs.

181 The thievery of the natives is not merely the result of uncontrolled desire
674 for many new and astonishing things. Their dishonesty appears innate and
577 systematic; they enjoy stealing the fruits they have given to their visitors as much as the theft of cloth or European articles. Their bartering with the white men is absolutely unscrupulous; they filled with stones the baskets

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Stone Houses

CHICKEN HOUSES

Ancient Easter Island hen houses (*hare moa*) were rectangular heaps of stones with a long, narrow, chamber reached by two long, narrow passages. Anyone intending to steal had to remove the stones and consequently make a noise which would attract the owners. Near the ancient village of Vai-tara-kai-ua is a hen house still in good condition.

The lower part is made of basalt blocks heaped and adjusted with great care. The size of the stones decreases toward the top, and the upper part is composed of small stones, piled at random. The whole building is rectangular with both ends slightly curved. Two small passages lead to the central chamber. One of the entrances is surmounted by an arched stone. Under the opening two superimposed stones make a kind of staircase. The structure is 7.3 meters long, 3.3 meters wide, and 1.8 meters high.

STONE HOUSES AT ORONGO

A detailed survey of the village of Orongo was made by the Routledge expedition (195). It is briefly summarized here. The houses composing the village of Orongo stretch in two rows along the narrow ridge between the crater and the sea cliff on the southern rim of Rano-kao. At one point, the two rows overlap one another.

The houses are made of slabs which come from a natural quarry below the village on the crater side (pl. 3, *B*). The rock "is a fine grained volcanic sandstone bedded in large laminae." Despite numerous variations, these houses are all built according to the same general pattern. They have an oval or elliptical ground plan and their structure, like that of the thatched houses, suggests the form of an upturned canoe. The back walls rest against rocks or the slope of the volcano rim. In some places the ground has been excavated to obtain a level space. The foundations are made of rough cubes of stone, laid in the form of an oval. The inner side of the foundation course is lined with large vertical slabs which are set on edge and diminish in height from the center to the ends. The walls which have an average thickness of 1.5 to 1.8 meters, are remarkably solid. They are made of small or shattered fragments, "laid in horizontal course with broken joints." The spaces between the courses are filled flush with small stones. The back wall is lined on the outside with rough, wedge-shaped slabs, held in place by earth filled against them. The front wall has no external vertical slabs. The masonry has niches and shelves. There is sometimes a hatch between two adjoining houses and certain of them have inner annexes. The slabs or laminae set above the walls are "imbricated or 'tumble-home' till the opening is reduced to such a size that it can be spanned by a series of single slabs, thus completing the arch or roof. For these roofing slabs the curved laminae are chosen, and they are often of such dimensions that ten men would be required to move a single slab into place."

Like the thatched huts, these stone houses have the door in the middle of one side. This doorway is a sort of tunnel, lined on all sides by slabs, with two uprights and a lintel at the entrance. Some houses have a sill, formed by a slab sunk vertically into the ground, so that its upper edge is flush with the surface of the door. Some houses have two apertures, and in a few the aperture is double, the two passages being side by side.

When finished, these houses are covered with a thick layer of soil (at places 70 cm. deep). The slabs opposite the door are painted with representations of birds, European boats, dancing paddles, or the figure of the god with big eyes. Lintels or slabs in the houses are frequently covered with engraved vulvas. Outside a house there may be pits lined with stones, which serve as ovens or storage places.

The size of these houses varies greatly. The largest measures about 10 meters by

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Comparisons with Other Polynesian Wooden Images

Wooden images of humans are common to the cultures of eastern and central Polynesia. The decayed condition portrayed in Easter Island images is foreign to other Polynesian art, except that of the Chatham Islands. A Moriori image (206, pl. 4) has protruding ribs and a retracted abdominal region. However, all other features are treated quite differently from those on Easter Island images. Ribs are frequently represented on the famous tree carvings of the Chatham Islands and ribs may be seen in some Maori *hei-tiki* (206, p. 66) and in the cave drawings from the South Island of New Zealand. The position of the arms—slightly flexed and lying along the thighs—is the same in Easter Island and Hawaiian images (142, p. 89).

Small wooden images seem to have been used throughout Polynesia as temporary tabernacles for gods and ancestral spirits. Probably such was their function on Easter Island. In New Zealand sticks with conventionalized figures carved on one end were used as temporary shrines for the gods (20, vol. 1, p. 281). In the Whanganui district small images were kept in the house "each of which is dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor of the family, who is believed to enter into its substance, on particular occasions, in order to hold converse with the living" (203, p. 63). Occasionally Maori wooden images were made to represent defunct relatives before which the living wept while food was offered to them (20, vol. 2, p. 60). Tahitian *ti'i* (wooden images) were also temporary receptacles for lesser gods or spirits who were called into the image by a priest or a magician (107, p. 203). The naturalistic Mangarevan wooden figures represented gods, especially the god Tu. The small stone and wooden images of Hawaii and the Marquesas were probably ceremonial objects but their exact use is not known.

Good-Luck Objects

The magic significance attributed by one of my informants to the signs on the tablets probably derived from the fact that the natives consider as talismans or amulets every stone with an incised figure. Numerous boulders with engraved designs on them have been found on the island. The design which is most frequently reproduced on the stones is that of the vulva, stylized as in figure 42, *e-f* (p. 258). Rarely the outline of a fish, a bird, a turtle, or a man is seen (fig. 42, *b-c*). The carved figures might have increased the magic power of the stones or simply distinguished them from ordinary boulders.

J. L. Young, who collected some magic stones with the incised representation of the vulva, was given the correct name, *maea mo moa* (stone for fowls) and was told that the stones "were placed under domestic fowls with the idea that the fertility of the eggs was thus promoted" (229, p. 171). A

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777 few years before Young's visit, Thomson had purchased from the natives what he calls a "fowl god" (*maea moa*, stone of fowls) which he describes (215, p. 537) as "a beach pebble with slight traces of tool-marks" that was placed under a setting hen before the eggs were hatched. Stones incised with designs of the vulva are common on the island and had no connection with the purported ceremony of the *hakatoro* (stretching of a girl's clitoris) as suggested by Young (229, p. 32). The stretching of the girl's clitoris (*repe*) was not a special rite, but a long process of deformation which lasted for years under the care of the girl's mother. Routledge counted 49 signs of the vulva (*komari*) on the rocks at Orongo and observes that the "*komari* is frequently found on hollow stones and elsewhere" (194, p. 449). The same symbol appears on a stone which was given to Thomson as a fish god (215, p. 537):

[304 831 856]

778

> This rough, ill-shaped stone was one of the objects really worshipped by the natives. Some of them bear evidences of tool marks, but it does not appear that any effort was made to carve them. These gods were never common, and were possessed by communities or clans [lineages], and not by individuals. The legends claim that they were all brought to the island by Hotu Matua and the first settlers.

In a field near Mataveri we found a large stone, about 3 feet high, on which the conventionalized design of the big-eyed god was carved five times. The location of this stone in the middle of the cultivated grounds resembles strongly the *kumara* gods of New Zealand, which were temporary abiding-places for the *atua* and were placed in potato fields to insure a good harvest.

777 Natives still remember that formerly fishermen carried in their canoes stones selected for their shape which were supposed to bring luck. Some 226 looked like fish, others like cocks, and some suggested the form of a man. They were called *maea ika* (stones for fish). There were special ones called *maea kahi* for the *kahi* fish. These, according to Thomson (215, p. 537), had "no distinguishing characteristics."

777 Amulets were buried in houses. Thomson got a fair collection of them by digging beneath the door posts of ancient dwellings. "The majority are simply beach pebbles; others have been formed by rubbing; and one is a triangular-shaped stone with a face outlined upon it. These were placed beneath the houses, with much ceremony, and were supposed to ward off evil influences" (215, p. 538).

● [235] Natives frequently offered me stone blocks with natural holes which they called "nests for hens." They insisted that these stones, not unlike enormous egg-cups, were "good" for the hens and caused them to lay eggs. This interpretation was confirmed by the discovery of some of these stones in an old chicken house.

> Among the "fetish stones" figured by Thomson (215, pl. 60, fig. 2) there is one identical with five stones in Bishop Museum (B3545) classified as "sharpening stones." All are elongated and have a more or less conical form. The porosity of the stones

7: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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133 the other, and we found 26 fathoms there, rocky bottom. The middle one resembles a high church tower; we attempted to gain a footing on it, but found it little accessible. We passed on to the outer one, where we 136 succeeded in landing, and on which we found two large masses of seaweed, many black flints, some sea urchins and small crabs, eggs of sea-gulls and their fledgelings. On these rocks alone did we see any sea-gulls, and excepting fowls we saw no other kind of birds on either of the other islets, nor on the island of San Carlos, either small or large, wild or domesticated. The islanders breed [235] these fowls in little runs scraped out in the ground and thatched over.

Having made an investigation of these islets we pursued our course along the coast, at times under sail, at other times under oars; and, the wind holding contrary, at three o'clock in the afternoon we stood in towards a smooth patch of foreshore about a league away to the N.E. of Cape San Francisco. Here we decided to bring up for the night in a small bay which appeared to us to be a suitable place for the purpose, and to which we gave the appellation of the Cave, because there was one adjoining the beach at this place with furrows in it of various tints, from which the natives gave us to understand by signs they obtained the pigments with which they paint themselves. This bay is 439 only suitable for launches. We all went ashore to eat our dinner, which we carried with us for that purpose, and some 609 hundred or so natives came to look on, offering us fruits and hens. The officer, Don Cayetano de Lángara, issued orders to our people that no one, under pain of a severe flogging, should accept any article from the islanders without giving some equivalent in return, or something of greater value than that which they received, since it was known there was a disposition to exchange articles; and such in fact was put into practice.